

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /016 R

66612

DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:VLEHOVICH:MEM

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P 212359Z MAY 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 119431 TOSEC 010180

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT NATO 2789 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN BRUSSELS
COPENHAGEN LONDON LUXEMBOURG OSLO PARIS ROME AND THE HAGUE 17 MAY 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 2789

EXDIS

SECSTATE PLS PASS TO SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MASS, BE, FR, NATO

SUBJ: F-104 REPLACEMENT

REF: BRUSSELS 4313 (NOTAL)

1. MISSION HAS THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING A RESPONSE
TO TINDEMANS ABOUT FRENCH INTEREST IN SETTING UP A "EUROPEAN
COUNCIL FOR SECURITY" AND PERHAPS JOINING THE EUROGROUP IF THE
BELGIANS WILL BUY THE MIRAGE:

(A) WE THINK A RESPONSE TO TIMDEMANS SHOULD CONVEY U.S. UNDERSTANDING
OF HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND SUPPORT FOR ALLIED

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ATTEMPTS TO REINTEGRATE FRANCE INTO THE ATLANTIC SECURITY

STRUCTURE. WE ALSO BELIEVE WE SHOULD REHEARSE FOR TINDEMANS
THE CURRENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL REALITIES IN U.S. PERHAPS DRAWING
ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- TRADITIONAL U.S. SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNITY REMAINS
UNQUESTIONED.

-- THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESS, HOWEVER, ARE
ASKED TO SUPPORT AN ALLIANCE THAT IS TRULY ATLANTIC AND WHICH
SEES EUROPEAN AND U.S. INTERESTS AS COMMON, NOT CONFLICTING.

-- U.S. PUBLIC OPINION WOULD, THEREFORE, FIND IT
DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND PURCHASE "FOR EUROPEAN REASONS" OF
HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED AIRCRAFT WHICH CONSORTIUM MODELS, INCLUDING
VAN DEN BOEHNANTS, HAVE DETERMINED IS LESS EFFECTIVE THAN
AMERICAN COMPETITOR, AND WHICH IS PRODUCED BY A COUNTRY WHICH
HAS REJECTED COLLECTIVE DEFENSE STRUCTURE.

-- PUBLICITY ABOUT SUCH A CHOICE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE
NATO SUMMIT WOULD COMPOUND DAMAGING IMPACT ON U.S. OPINION.

(B) BEYOND FOREGOING, MISSION SUGGESTS FOLLOWING RESPONSES
TO TINDEMANS ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED PARA 12 REFTEL:

-- U.S. HAS CONSISTENTLY ENDORSED AN ALLIANCE DEFENSE
CONCEPT AND EUROGROUP CONTRIBUTION THERETO.

-- AS REPEATEDLY STATED, U.S. HOPES FOR
MUCH GREATER RATIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION IN COOPERATION
WITH ITS EUROPEAN PARTNERS.

-- LIKE EUROPEANS, WE FAVOR A EUROGROUP WHICH FULLY
SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT OF A TRANSATLANTIC DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP
RATHER THAN COOPERATION FROM WHICH U.S. COULD BE EXCLUDED.

-- ALSO, GOOD REASONS ALREADY EXIST FOR FRANCE TO JOIN
THE EUROGROUP AND THESE ATTRACTIONS WOULD SEEM MORE COMPELLING
FOR THE FUTURE. THE REWARDS TO FRANCE FOR JOINING EUROGROUP
LIE IN PERMITTING FRANCE TO SHARE IN ALLIANCE WEAPONS STAND-
ARDIZATION PROGRAMS INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF
NEW SYSTEMS.

-- WE DO NOT, THEREFORE, SEE WHY ADDITIONAL BAIT NEED
BE OFFERED TO THE FRENCH, IN THE FORM OF A BELGIAN MIRAGE BUY,
TO INDUCE THEM TO DO WHAT IS ALREADY IN THEIR ADVANTAGE TO DO.

(C) AS TO A "EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR SECURITY, WE SUGGEST TINDEMANS
BE TOLD:

-- THE UNITED STATES, BASED UPON TREATY COMMITMENTS
AND NATIONAL INTERESTS, IS INELUCTABLY INVOLVED IN EUROPEAN
SECURITY. THE NAC, DPC, MILITARY COMMITTEE, AND THE NATO

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INTEGRATED STRUCTURE ARE ACCORDINGLY THE APPROPRIATE FORA IN
WHICH TO DISCUSS "EUROPEAN" (AND NORTH AMERICAN) SECURITY ISSUES.

-- MOREOVER, THE FRENCH HAVE NOT TO DATE SPECIFICALLY
DEFINED THE FUTURE ORGANIZATION THEY HAVE IN MIND AND HOW IT
WOULD EFFECTIVELY COMPLEMENT EXISTING ALLIANCE AND EUROPEAN
INSTITUTIONS.

FOR EXAMPLE, WE DO NOT SEE HOW A "EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR

SECURITY," ESTABLISHED "IN THE EC-NINE FRAMEWORK," WOULD ENCOMPASS THE INTERESTS OF THE NON-NINE ALLIES, I.E. NORWAY, GREECE, TURKEY, OR HOW IT WOULD RELATE TO NEUTRAL IRELAND. -- MOREOVER, TIMING OF THE OFFER RAISE DOUBTS ABOUT FRENCH MOTIVES IN PROPOSING EUROPEAN COUNCIL AS ADDITIONAL PILLAR FOR WESTERN DEFENSE. -- ATTEMPTS TO FURTHER SEPARATE U.S. AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORTS WOULD HAVE CHILLING EFFECT ON NOW-PROMISING INDICATIONS OF GREATER COOPERATION IN CO-PRODUCTION AND RATIONALIZATION (I.E. "THE TWO-WAY STREET").

2. COMMENT: MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE INDICATIONS OF ANY FRENCH APPROACHES IN OTHER NATO CAPITALS ON THIS MATTER. FURTHERMORE, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT EMBASSIES IN NATO CAPITALS BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE APPROPRIATE DEMARCHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS IN THE EVENT FRENCH ARE PURSUING THEIR LINE WITH OTHER ALLIES. BRUCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY PROCUREMENT, MILITARY AIRCRAFT, FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, ALLIANCE, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, TOSEC 10180
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE119431
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:VLEHOVICH:MEM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750178-1064
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750529/aaaabanp.tel
Line Count: 133
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BRUSSELS 4313
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <25 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: F-104 REPLACEMENT
TAGS: MASS, BE, FR, NATO
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006